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Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Preterite Tenses of the Indicative.—By LOUIS H. GRAY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

THE question of the signification of the past tenses of the indicative in the Avesta is one of the most important in the study of the syntax of the sacred language of Iran.¹ The distinctions between the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect must be examined and the results of the investigation must ever be kept in mind if the full meaning of the Avesta texts is to be won. The force of the tenses of the Avestan has twice been made the subject of rigid investigation, first by Bartholomae *Altiran. Verb.* (1878) 220–240, and second by Spiegel *Vgl. Gramm. der altérân. Spr.* (1882) 491–496. The progress made in the interpretation of the Avesta since these two works appeared is a sufficient ground for a reconsideration of this problem.

The position won with regard to the force of the tenses of the Sanskrit, and especially of the Vedic dialect, is my starting point. The doctrines taught by Pāṇini concerning the Indian tenses are as follows. The aorist expresses past time (*lan*, iii, 2, 110); the imperfect denotes an act performed on some day other than the present one (*anadyatane lan*, iii, 2, 111 as contrasted with *adyatana*=aorist, *Vārttika* 2 to Pāṇini ii, 4, 3; *Vārttika* 3 to Pāṇini vi, 4, 114); the perfect signifies an act performed at a time when the speaker was not present (*parokṣe lit*, iii, 2, 115). The conclusions drawn by Delbrück, who has given Pāṇini the tribute which is his due (*Vgl. Synt.* ii, 273) may be summarized briefly. The imperfect is the tense of narration (*Altind. Tempusl.* 90, 132, *Altind. Synt.* 279, *Vgl. Synt.* ii, 268, 309); the aorist simply states that a given act was performed, or that a given event occurred at some time past (“Es kommt bei der aoristischen

¹ The present paper, like its companion study, “Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Conditional Sentence”, *Annals N. Y. Acad. Sci.* xiii, 549–588, is intended to be preliminary to the forthcoming “Avesta Syntax” of my teacher, Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson. His counsel, ever cheerfully given, is highly appreciated by me, and from his rich collection of material, kindly placed at my disposal in manuscript, I have received much valuable assistance.

Aeusserung der Gesichtspunkt der Zeitdauer gar nicht in Betracht. Es wird ja nur betont, dass eine Handlung überhaupt in der Erscheinung getreten sei", Altind. Synt. 280, see also Altind. Tempusl. 128-129, 131, Vgl. Synt. ii, 240, 302-303, 309); the perfect signifies the present result of a past act or event (Vgl. Synt. ii, 177, 213, 269, 275, 309, cf. also Altind. Synt. 298, Altind. Tempusl. 100-101, 112, 131-132). In the Brāhmaṇa period of the Sanskrit the perfect is used as a tense of narration besides the imperfect (Delbrück, Altind. Tempusl. 131, Altind. Synt. 300-301, Vgl. Synt. ii, 271-275, Whitney, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. xxiii, 85-94, Speyer, Ved. u. Skt. Synt. 52). The conclusions of Speyer, Skt. Synt. 246-257, Ved. u. Skt. Synt. 51-54 are in close accord with those of Delbrück.¹ Paul's Prinzipien der sprachgeschichte² 251 should be consulted in this connection.

The views concerning the tense-force of the Avesta which were expressed by Bartholomae and Spiegel may be summed up in a few words. According to the former of these two scholars the Iranian aorist, like the Greek, expresses an inchoative or an instantaneous act ("Der iranische aorist dient, wie der griechische, zum ausdrück der eintretenden, auf einen schlag vollzogenen handlung," Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 223, cf. Jackson, Av. Gramm. § 624), and he considers the imperfect to be preëminently the descriptive tense in Iranian as it is in Indian. The perfect is used, according to this scholar, in a present or in a preterite sense, or else it possesses no tense-force whatever (Altiran. Verb. 237). Spiegel agrees with Bartholomae in regard to the tense-force of the aorist and imperfect (Vgl. Gramm. 491, 493), but in his view the perfect denotes either a mere preterite, or else the present result of a past act or event (Vgl. Gramm. 495). The pluperfect tense occurs very rarely in the Avesta. In Bartholomae's opinion (Altiran. Verb. 240) it has merely the force of the ordinary imperfect. Similarly,

¹ Whitney, Skt. Gramm.² § 779, like other scholars, regarded the imperfect as the tense of narration. His theory, however, that the aorist "signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present" (§ 928, cf. also §§ 927, 929-30) is less acceptable in my judgment. The perfect, even in the Veda, was to him "the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present" (§ 823, cf. also §§ 821b, 822, and Pāṇini *chandasi līṭ*, iii, 2, 105). This conception of the force of the perfect tense seems to me to be somewhat inexact.

with reference to the Sanskrit pluperfect, Delbrück supposes that this tense is sometimes equivalent to the imperfect as being a tense of narration and sometimes to the aorist as being past in time (Vgl. Synt. ii, 228, 275-276, 309, Altind. Tempusl. 113, 132, Whitney, Skt. Gramm.² § 532a, cf. also Speyer, Skt. Synt. 256-257). This view does not seem to be supported by the Avesta. There, in my opinion, the pluperfect represents what we should expect from its formation in the perfect system. It appears to denote the result in past time of a previous action or event, and it does not appear to have the value of a simple preterite tense.

It is almost self-evident that the Younger Avesta shows a steady decline in ability to distinguish sharply between the various preterite tenses. This is true especially of the aorist, which is practically supplanted by the imperfect and occurs but seldom (Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 227, Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 491, 494). The decreasing frequency of the aorist and the absorption of the aoristic functions by the imperfect in epic and classical Sanskrit is closely analogous (cf. Avery, JAOS. x, 319).

In the consideration of the force of the imperfect and aorist tenses in the Avesta a considerable difficulty meets the investigator at the very outset. While the Old Persian employs the augment in all the occurrences of the imperfect and aorist, the Avesta has very few augmented forms (Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 343-344, Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 57, 60-62; Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 56, 189-190; Jackson, Av. Gramm. § 466). The danger of confounding true imperfects and aorists with injunctives is, therefore, a serious one. Especially is this the case in the Gāthās, the very part of the Iranian scriptures where clearness were most desirable. Here the confusion between the past tenses of the indicative and the injunctive is the greatest. Many passages of the Gāthās may be interpreted equally well either as laid by Zarathushtra in time past, or, owing to the marked eschatological spirit which pervades these psalms, as referring to future time and especially to the Resurrection. In the Younger Avesta this difficulty is, fortunately, less serious, owing to the relative simplicity of the thought and style. In all passages considered in this study which possess traditional renderings in Pahlavī and Sanskrit these ancient translations have been taken into account.

I have necessarily adopted a uniform rendering of the past tenses. The imperfect is translated in all instances by the English narrative tense ('he said'), the aorist by the auxiliary

'did' (he 'did say'), the perfect and its preterite, the pluperfect, by the auxiliaries 'has', 'had', ('he has said' 'he had said').

I. Sentences containing the imperfect only.

In the following passages will be found examples of the imperfect indicative used as the tense of simple narration or description according to the theory set forth above.

Ys. 29. 8:

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

*aēm mōi idā vistō yō nō aēvō sāsnaṭ gūšatā
zaraθuštrō spitāmō: hvō nō mazdā vaštī ašāicā
čarəkərəθrā srāvayekhē hyaṭ hōi hudēmēm dyāi vaxədrahyā.*

'this man here hath been found for me, who alone heard our commandments, Zarathushtra Spitāma. He wisheth, O Mazda and Asha, to recite the duties when I shall give him a goodly upbuilding of speech.'

(Note the variant *guštā* K 37, C 1 for *gušatā* which Neryosengh renders by *çuçrāva*.)

Ys. 30. 6:

*ayā nōiṭ ərəš vīšyātā daēvācinā hyaṭ iṣ ā dəbaomā
pərəsmanəng upā-ja s a t hyaṭ vərənātā aēišəm manō:
aṭ aēšəmēm hēn dvārəntā yā banayən ahūm marətānō.*

'of the two the demons decided not aright, since deceit came upon them as they questioned when they chose the Worst Mind. Then they rushed together unto Wrath to defile the life of man.'

(The tradition renders *vīšyāta* by the present *vījñēnd*, *vivijanti*, but *upā-ja s a t* and *hēndvārəntā* by *maṭō hōmand*, *upāgacchat*, and *dūbārast hōmand*, *durāgacchan*.)

Ys. 31. 11:

*hyaṭ nō mazdā paourvīm gaēθāscā tašō daēnāscā
θwā manarhā xratūšcā hyaṭ astvantəm dadā uštanəm
hyaṭ šyaθanācā sēnghāscā yaθrā varənəng vasā dāyetē.*

'when first thou, Mazda, shapedst for us lives and consciences and wisdoms through thy Mind, when thou madest the body corporeal, (when thou madest) deeds and words whereby one may at will profess his beliefs.'

(The Pahlavi and Sanskrit tradition renders *tašō* by *tāšūt*, *ghaṭi-tavān*, and *dadā* by *dāt*, *adāh*.)

Ys. 32. 1:

*ahyācā x'aētus̄ yāsaṭ ahyā vərəzēnəm maṭ airyamnā
ahyā daēvā mahmī manōi ahurahyā urvāzemā mazdā:
θwōi dūtān̄hō ān̄hāmā tēng dārayō yōi vā daibišēntī.*

‘of him he asked as kinsman, of him (he asked) as serf together with the confederate, of him the demons (asked): In my mind (I am) a friend of Ahura Mazda. May we be thy messengers! Them art thou to hold (in restraint) who hate you.’

(The tradition renders *yāsaṭ* by *bavihūnast*.)

Ys. 34. 8:

*tāiš zī nā šyaoθanāiš byentē yaēšū as pairī pourubyō iθeyjō
hyaṭ as aojyā nāidyān̄həm θwahyā mazdā qstā urvātahyā
yōi nōit̄ ašəm mainyantā aēibyō dūirē vohū as manō.*

‘by these deeds they affright us with whom there was destruction for many, since he was the stronger against the weaker(?), an oppressor of thy doctrine, Mazda: the Good Mind was far from them who regarded not Righteousness.’

(We may also regard *mainyantā* and *as* as injunctives, cf. the traditional renderings by *minēnd*, *manyante* and *barā . . . aītō, asti*.)

Ys. 43. 8:

*aṭ hōi aojī zaraθuštrō paourvīm
haiθyō dvaēšā hyaṭ isōyā drəgvātītē
aṭ ašāunē rafənō hyēm aojōnghvat.*

‘then to him I, Zarathushtra, spake: May I be a true foe, as far as I can, of the wicked, but a mighty joy to the righteous.’

(The tradition renders *aojī* by *gūft*, *pratyavocat*.)

Ys. 44. 6:

*taṭ θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā
yā fravaxšyā yezi tā aθā haiθyā
ašəm šyaoθanāiš dəbzaitī ārmaiti
taibyō xšaθrəm vohū činas manan̄hā
kaēibyō azīm rānyō-skərətīm ɣəm tašō.*

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord, whether what I shall pronounce is true indeed: doth Armaiti advance Righteousness by her deeds? The Good Mind taught thy Kingdom; for whom shapedst thou the joy-giving cow Azi?’

(The tradition renders *činas* by *čāšēt*, *āsvādayati*, and *tašō* by *tāšit*, *aghaṭayah*.)

Ys. 45. 5 :

*aṭ fravaṣšyā hyaṭ mōi mraoṭ spəntōtəmō
vačō srūidyāi hyaṭ marətaēibyō vahištəm.*

‘and I shall pronounce what the Holiest said unto me, the word which is best for mortals to hear.’

(The tradition renders *mraoṭ* by *gūft*, *abravīt*.)

Ys. 46. 17 :

*yaθrā vē afšmānī sənghānī
nōiṭ anafšmām dējāmāspā hvō-gvā
hadā vēstā vahmēng sərəaošā rādanəhō
yē vīčīnaoṭ dāθəmcā adāθəmcā
dangrā mantū ašā mazdā ahurō.*

‘where I shall announce your measures, not unmeasured, O wise Hvogvian Jāmāspa, prayers with your creation through obedience to the generous giver, who, even Mazda Ahura, decided between good and evil with his wise counsellor Righteousness.’

(The tradition renders *vīčīnaoṭ* by *barā vījīnēt*, *vivīnakti*.)

Ys. 48. 5 :

gavōi vərəzyātəm təm nē xʷarəθāi fšuyō.

‘let them work for the cow whom thou madest to thrive for our food.’

(The tradition renders *fšuyō* by *sphītayati*.)

Examples of the imperfect injunctive may be quoted from the Gāthās in this connection. In the two passages here chosen the injunctive value of the augmentless imperfect form is supported by the traditional renderings. In the majority of cases, however, the decision whether a passage contains an imperfect indicative or an injunctive becomes almost entirely a matter of subjective judgment. Perhaps we may go so far as to say that the double force of the augmentless form was intended by the great Prophet, whose vivid imagination beheld the future oftentimes as the past.

Ys. 34. 9 :

*yōi spəntəm ārmaitīm θwahyā mazdā bərəxδəm vīdušō
duš-šyaοθanā avazazaṭ vaəhəuš əvistī mananəhō
aēibyō maš ašā syazdaṭ yavaṭ ahmaṭ aurunā xrafstrā.*

‘those who know that Spenta Armaiti is beloved of thee, O Mazda, (but who) are to fall away through evil doing through ignorance of the Good Mind, from them Righteousness

is to withdraw afar, as from us the wild noxious creatures (are to withdraw).'

(The tradition renders *avazazaŋ* by *barā sedkūnyēn*, *parikšep-syanti*, but *syazdaŋ* by *prabhraṣyati*.)

Ys. 44. 15.

taŋ θwā prəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā
yezi ahyā ašā pōi maŋ xšayehī
hyat hēm spādā anaočanhā jamaētē
avāiš urvātāiš yā tū mazdā dīdərəžō
kuθrā ayā kahmāi vananəm dadā.

'this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord: whether thou hast power through Righteousness over him to ward (him) off from me; when the two hostile hosts shall come together on account of those doctrines which thou art to desire to have maintained, unto which of the twain art thou to give the victory?'

(The tradition glosses *dīdərəžō* as eschatological; *aēy*, *Dīnō rūbākīh būndak yehévūnēt dēn zak damānō*; *kila*, *Dīneh pravrthīh sampūrṇā bhaviṣyati antaḥ tasmin kāle*. It renders *dadā* by *yehabūnī-aīt*, *dāsyati*.)¹

b. Younger Avesta.

The imperfect retains its original force unchanged in the younger Avesta. It has, furthermore, absorbed for the most part the functions of the aorist tense. The imperfect is very frequent in the younger Avesta. A very few examples from this portion of the texts will suffice to show the force of the imperfect in the later period of the language.

Ys. 9. 15 (YAv. verse):

tūm zəmagūzō ākərənāvō
vispe duēva zaraθuštra.

'thou, Zarathushtra, madest all the demons to hide beneath the earth.'

(The tradition renders *ākərənāvō* by *karŋ hōmanih*, *akarot*.)

Ys. 57. 17 (YAv. verse):

yō nōit pascaēta hušx^aafa
yaŋ mainyū dāman da iδītəm.

¹ Further examples of the imperfect injunctive in Avestan are given by Gray, *Annals N. Y. Acad. Sci.* xii, 563, 573-574.

‘who hath not slept after that the two spirits created the creation.’

(The tradition renders *daiðitəm* by *yehabūnīt*. The variant *hušx^vafayať* J 15 for the perf. part. *hušx^vafa* [Jackson, Reader 109, but perf. ind.—cf. Skt. *susvāpa*—Bartholomae, Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 204] is noteworthy.)

Yt. 5. 127–129 (YAv. verse):

minum barať hvāzāta
arədvī sūra anāhita
upa təm srīrəm manaoθrim
hā hē maiðim nyāzata . . .
upairi pušəm bandayata . . .
bawraini vastrā vanhata.

‘the well-born Ardvī Sūra Anāhita wore a collar upon her fair neck, she girt her waist, . . . she bound on a crown, . . . she clad herself in beaver robes.’

(Note the variant *bandayeti*—present—J 10 for *bandayata*.)

Yt. 8. 38 (YAv. verse):

avi ðim ahurō mazdā
avən aməšā spənta
vouru-gaoyaoitiš hē miθrō
pouru pantəm fračāēšāētəm
ā ðim paskāt anumarəzatəm
ašišča vanuhi bərəzaiti
pārəndiča raorəθa
vīspəm ā ahmāt yať əēm
paiti-apayať vazəmnō
x^vəncantəm avi gairīm.

‘Ahura Mazda and the Amshaspands assisted him, Mithra, the lord of broad pastures [and Ahura—see Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta ii, 425 n. 85] taught him the road in full, after him swept along both the lofty Ashi Vanuhi and Pārendi of the swift chariot, all the time until he reached in his course the mountain Hvanvant.’

Ys. 13. 77–78 (YAv. verse):

yať titarať anrō mainyuš
kāhīm ašahe vanhəuš
antarə pairi-avāitəm
vohuča manō ātaršča

78 *tā hē taurvayatəm tbaēšā*
anrahe mainyēuš drvatō
yať nōiť āpō takāiš stayať
nōiť urvarā uruθmabyō
hakať sūrahe daθušō
xšayatō ahurahe mazdā
frātačīn āpō savištā
uzuxšyāncā urvarā.

‘when Anra Mainyu crossed the creation of good Righteousness, both the Good Mind and the Fire came to help, they [the Fravashis] overcame the malicious acts of the wicked Anra Mainyu, so that he stopped not the waters in their courses, nor the plants in their growths; straightway flowed forth the waters most mighty of the mighty creator, the majestic Ahura Mazda, and the plants grew.’

(Note the variant *avāiti*—present—K 37 for *avāitəm*.)

Yt. 17. 55 (YAv. verse):

yať mām tura pazdayanta
āsu-aspa naotarača
āať azəm tanūm aguze
adairi pādəm gəuš aršnō barəmāyaonahe
āať mām fraguzayanta
yōi apərənāyu tauruna
yōi kainina anupaētu mašyānqm.

‘when the Turanians and swift-horsed Naotairyans chased me, then I hid my body beneath the foot of a laden(?) bull; then there discovered me young boys and maidens unsullied by men.’

(Both here and in the similar passage Yt. 17. 56 K 12 has the present *pazdayanti* for *pazdayanta*. Similarly K 12, J 10 read the present *fraguzayanti* in § 55 for *fraguzayanta*, although they have the imperfect *fraguzayanta* in § 56.)

Vd. 2. 3 (YAv. verse):

āat hē mraom zaraθuštra
azəm yō ahurō mazdā.

‘then I, Ahura Mazda, O Zarathushtra, said to him.’

(The tradition renders *mraom* by *gūftam*.)

II. Sentences containing the aorist only.

It is not altogether improbable that at an early time in the Indo-Iranian period the various formations of the aorist, such as

the root-aorist, the sibilant aorist, or the reduplicated aorist, expressed different shades of the force of the aoristic tense. However this may have been, it is clear that by the close of the Indo-Iranian period all formations of the aorist had the same signification, that of the simple statement that a certain action or event occurred in past time (Delbrück, *Altind. Tempusl.* 88; Vgl. *Synt.* ii, 230).

Ys. 28. 7:

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

*dāidī ašā tām ašim vanhēuš āyaptā mananhō
dāidī tū ārmaite vištāspai īšam maibyācā
dāstū mazdā xšayācā yā vō mąθrā srəvim ārādā.*

‘give, O Asha, that blessing, the boon of the Good Mind, grant thou, Ārmaite, (our) desire to Vištāspa and to me; (and) thou, O Mazda, art to give what words I, your prophet, did hear.’

Ys. 29. 10:

*yūžēm aēibyō ahurā uogō dātā ašā xšaθrəmčā
avat vohū mananhā yā hušētīs rāmąmčā dāt
azəmčēt ahyā mazdā θwąm mēšhī paourvīm vaēdēm.*

‘do ye give them strength, O Lord, and the Kingdom through Righteousness, such through the Good Mind that he may give fair abodes and joy; I in sooth, O Mazda, did think thee to be the first possessor of this.’

(The tradition renders *mēšhī* by *mīnam*, *dhyāyāmi*.)

Ys. 30. 3:

*ať tū mainyū pouruyē yā yēmā xʼafənā asrvātəm
manahičā vačahičā šyaοθanōi hī vahyō akəmčā
āscā hudānhō ərəš višyātā nōit duždānhō.*

‘now the two first spirits, the twins, of their own accord did proclaim both in thought and in word and in deed, what is better and what is evil; of them twain the benevolent did choose aright, but not so the malignant.’

(The tradition renders *asrvātəm* by *srūt*, *avocatām*, and *višyātā* by *barā vijēt*, *vibhaktavān*. The use of *višyātā* in Ys. 30. 6 is precisely similar, although Neryosengh renders it there by *vivijanti*.)

Ys. 31. 10:

*ať hī ayā fravarētā vāstrīm ahyāi fšuyantəm
ahurəm ašavanəm vanhēuš fšənglīm mananhō
nōit mazdā avāstryō davąscīnā humərətōiš baxštā*

‘then of these two he did choose for her the thrifty husbandman as a righteous lord, a promoter of the Good Mind; never, O Mazda, did one not a husbandman, even a Davans, enjoy good report.’

(The tradition renders *fravarətā* by *fravāstend* and *baxštā* by *ælkūnēt, pravarəti.*)

Ys. 32. 3 :

*aṭ yūš daēvā vīspān̄hō akāt manan̄hō stā čīθrəm
yasčā vā maš yazaitē drūjasčā parimatōiščā
šyaomqam aipi daibitāna yāiš asrūdūm būmyā haptaiθē.*

‘now ye demons and whoso honoreth you greatly, to advance hereafter the deceits whereby ye did become notorious in the sevenfold earth, are all seed from the Evil Mind and the Druj and Pride.’

Ys. 33. 6 :

*yō zaotā ašā ərəzūš hvō manyēuš ā vahištāt kayā.
ahmāt avā manan̄hā yā vərəzyeidyāi mantā vāstryā
tā tōi izyāi ahurā mazdā darštōiščā hēm-parštōiščā.*

‘I as Zaoatar, pure through Righteousness, desire from that Best Mind to further through that Mind what it did think to be relating to husbandry; for these two things of thine I long, O Ahura Madza, both to see thee and to question thee.’

Ys. 34. 10 :

*ahyā van̄hēuš manan̄hō šyaoθanā vaoč aṭ gərəbqam huxratuš
spəntqmčā ārmaitīm dāmīm vidvā hiθqm ašahyā.*

‘the man of goodly wisdom did say to hold fast to the works of that Good Mind, knowing the creative Spenta Ārmaiti to be the abode of Righteousness.’

Ys. 35. 7 (GAv. prose):

*ahurahyā zi aṭ vō mazdā yasnmčā vahmēmčā vahištəm amēh-
maidī gəuščā vāstrəm.*

‘verily worship and invocation of you, O Ahura Mazda, did we think to be the best thing and the pasture of the cow.’

(The tradition renders *amēhmaidī* by *mīnam, dhyāyāmi.*)

Ys. 37. 1 (GAv. prose):

*iθā aṭ yazamaidē ahurəm mazdqm yō qmčā ašmčā dāt
apasčā dāt urvarāscā van̄uhīš raočāscā dāt būmīmčā vīspācā
vohū.*

‘here now we worship Ahura Mazda, who did create both the Cow and Righteousness, who did create both the good waters and plants, who did create both the stars and the earth and all good things.’

(The tradition renders *dāt* by *yehabunt*, *dadāu*.)

Ys. 39. 4 (GAv. prose):

*yaθā tū ī ahurā mazdā mēnghācā vaočasācā dāscā
varəščā yā vohū aθā tōi dadəmahī aθā cīsmahī aθā θwā āiš
yazamaidē.*

‘as thou indeed, O Ahura Mazda, didst both think and say and give and do what is good, so we give to thee, so we teach, so we worship thee thereby.’

(The tradition renders *mēnghā* by *mūnišnō hōmanāi*, *manasi vartase*, and *vaočas* by *gōbišnō hōmanāi*, *vacasi vartase*.)

Ys. 43. 5:

*spəntəm at θwā mazdā mēnghī ahurā
hyat θwā aəhəuš zaθōi darəsem paourvīm
hyat dā šyaoθanā mīzdavəṇ yācā uxδā
akəm akāi varəuhīm ašīm varəhaovē
θwā hunarā dāmōiš urvācē apəmē.*

‘then did I think thee to be holy, O Mazda Ahura, when I did see thee the first one at the birth of the world, when thou didst establish deeds and words having their rewards, evil for the evil, but a good blessing for the good, by thy virtue at creation’s final change.’

(The tradition renders *mēnghī* by *mūnūt hōmanih*, *amañstāh*, *darəsem* by *xadītūt*, *dadarça*, and *dā* by *yehabunt*, *adāh*.)

Ys. 44. 7:

*taṭ θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā
kē bərəxdəm t āšt xšaθrā maṭ ārmaitīm
kē uzəmēm cōrəṭ vyānayā puθrəm piθrē.*

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord: who did fashion the lovely Ārmaiti together with the Kingdom, who by his wisdom did make the son dear to his father?’

(The tradition renders *tāšt* by *tāšūt*, *aghaṭayat*, and *cōrəṭ* by *kartō*, *akarot*.)

Ys. 45. 10:

*tēm nē yasnāiš ārmatōiš mimaγžō
yē ʾnmənī mazdā srāvī ahurō*

hyaṭ hōi ašā vohučā čō išt mananḥā
xšaθrōi hōi haurvātā amərətātā
ahmāi stōi dān təvīši utayūiti.

‘seeking to magnify with our hymns of Concord him who is called in immutability Mazda Ahura, since his Asha and Vohu Manah did promise that in his Kingdom should be Health and Immortality, in his mansion Strength and Eternity.’

(The tradition renders *čōišt* by *čāšūtō*, *āsvādayati*.)

Ys. 46. 12 :

hyaṭ us ašā naptyaēšū nafsucā
tūrahyā uzjēn fryānahyā aojyaēšū
ārmatoiš gaēθā frādō θwaxšaḥhā
aṭ iš vohū hēm aibī-mōist mananḥā
aēibyō rafedrāi mazdā sastē ahurō.

‘when Righteousness did come unto those that are to be called the children and grandchildren of the Turanian Fryāna who zealously furthereth the possessions of Ārmaiti, then the Good Mind did abide with them, (and) Ahura Mazda is announced to them for their comfort.’

(The tradition renders *aibī-mōist* by *ketrūd*, *nīvasanti*.)

Ys. 49. 5 :

aṭ hvō mazdā īzāčā āzūitiščā
yē daēnəm vohū sārštā mananḥā
ārmatoiš kasčit ašā huzəntuš
tāiščā vīspāiš θwahmī xšaθrōi ahurā.

‘now he, O Mazda, is both increase and prosperity whosoever did guard the Religion through the Good Mind, whoever hath saving knowledge of Ārmaiti through Righteousness, together with all those in thy Kingdom, Lord.’

(The tradition glosses *sārštā* by *zak ī min dīnō pētāk pavan frārūnōih vādūnyēn*.)

Ys. 51. 11 :

kē urvaθō spitamāi zaraθuštrāi nā mazdā
kē vā ašā āfraštā kē spəntā ārmaitiš
kē vā vanḥəuš mananḥō ačīstā magāi ərəšvō.

‘what man, O Mazda, is a friend of Spitama Zarathushtra, or who did make questioning with Righteousness, with whom (did) Spenta Ārmaiti (make questioning), or what just man did make announcement to magnify the Good Mind.’

(The tradition renders *āfraštā* by *hampūrsūtō*, *aprcchat.*)

Ys. 53. 3 :

*tēmčā tū pouručistā haēcat-aspānā
spitāmī yezivī dugədrəm zaraθuštrahē
vanhəuš paityāstəm manənhō ašahyā mazdāsčā taibyō dāt sarem
aθā hēm fərašvā θwā xraθwā spēništā ārmatōiš hudānvarəšvā.*

‘and him, thou Pourucista, Haēcataspiān maiden, Spitamide, youthful daughter of Zarathushtra, he did give to thee as a husband, a friend of the Good Mind, Righteousness, and Mazda ; then make thou questioning with thy most holy wisdom in Ārmaiti’s knowledge-choosing matters.’

The following strophe seems to contain aorist injunctives rather than augmentless aorists.

Ys. 51. 15 :

*hyať mīzdəm zaraθuštrō magavabyō čōišť parā
garō dēmānē ahurō mazdā j a s ať pouruyō
tā vō vohū manənhā ašāičā savāiš čivīšī.*

‘this reward Zarathushtra did promise in the presence of the great ones : In the Abode of Song Ahura Mazda is to be the first to come ; these things have been taught you by the Good Mind and by the blessings of Righteousness.’

b. Younger Avesta.

It has already been noted that the aorist occurs but rarely in the Younger Avesta. Its place has been usurped for the most part by the imperfect.

Ys. 19. 1-3 (YAv. prose) :

*čiť avať vacō ās ahura mazda yať mē frāvaocō para asməm
para āpəm para zəm ... āať mraoť ahurō mazdā baya aēša ās
ahunahe vairyehe spitama zaraθuštra yať tē frāvaocəm.*

‘what was that word, O Ahura Mazda, which thou didst pronounce to me in the presence of the heaven, in the presence of the water, in the presence of the earth ? ... then said Ahura Mazda : It was this portion of the Ahuna Vairya, O Spitama Zarathushtra, which I did pronounce unto thee.’

(The tradition renders *frāvaocō* by *yemalelūnēt*, *prāvocaḥ*. The use of *frāvaocīm* in Yt. 17. 22 is precisely similar.)¹

¹ It is to be noted that in Avestan as well as in Sanskrit the aorist stem *vaoč* *voc* has assumed the value of a secondary root.

Yt. 3. 2 (YAv. prose) :

mrūiḍi bā vacō arš-vacō ahura mazda yaθa tē anəhən yaṭ aša vahišta frā dā hīš.

‘speak words truly spoken, O Ahura Mazda, as they were for thee when thou didst create through Asha Vahishta.’

Yt. 24. 20 (YAv. prose) :

imaṭ uxδəm vacō fravaocāt yaθa yaṭ tē fravaocāma.

‘this spoken word may he pronounce as we did pronounce it to thee.’

Vd. 2. 31 (YAv. prose and verse) :

āaṭ mąsta yimō kuθa tē

azəm varəm kərənavāne

yā mē aoxta ahurō mazdā.

‘then Yima did think: How shall I make thy enclosure as Ahura Mazda said unto me.’

(The tradition renders *mąsta* by *mīnūt*.)

Vd. 15. 13 (YAv. prose) :

puθrəm aēm narō varšta.

‘this man did beget the child.

(The tradition renders *varšta* by *vardūt*.)

Vd. 19. 14–15 (YAv. prose) :

xʷatō nizbayanuha zaraθuštra imaṭ dąma yaṭ ahurahe mazdā. vacšəm mē asąsat zaraθuštrō.

‘do thou thyself, Zarathushtra, invoke this creation of Ahura Mazda. In my word Zarathushtra did delight.’

(The tradition renders *asąsat* by *madammūništō*.)

Medio-Passive Aorist 3. Sing. in -i.

The medio-passive aorist third singular in *-i* lost its original aoristic force in Avestan in my judgment. According to Delbrück, Altind. Tempusl. 51–61; Altind. Verb. 182; Altind. Synt. 265–267; Vgl. Synt. ii, 436–437, the Vedic medio-passive aorist in *-i* retains its aoristic value unchanged. A similar claim has been made for Avestan and Old Persian by Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 227–228, 230, 233 and by Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 493–494. Whatever may be true of the Vedic Sanskrit, it seems to me that the Iranian medio-passive in *-i* lost its aoristic force at a very early period and became a mere preterite tense.

The medio-passive in *-i* is not frequent in Avestan. A few examples may, however, be cited.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

Ys. 32. 8 :

*aēšqm aēnanahm vīvanhušō srāvī yimasčūt
yō mašyēng čixnušō ahmākēng gāuš bagā x̌ārəmnō
aēšqmčūt ā ahmī θwahmī mazdā vīciθōi aipī.*

‘of these sinners even Yima, the son of Vīvanhush, hath been accounted one, who (although) seeking to please our men, ate portions of the Cow ; apart from these men am I in thy judgment hereafter, O Mazda.’

(The tradition renders *srāvī* by *srūt*, *proktavān*. Cf. also Ys. 45. 10 ; 53. 1.)

Ys. 36. 6 (GAv. prose) :

*sraēštqm at tōi kəhrpēm kəhrpəm āvaēdayamahī mazdā ahurā
imā raočā barezištəm barəzimanqm avat yāt hvarō avāčē.*

‘the most beautiful body of bodies we acknowledge to be thine, O Mazda Ahura, this light, the highest of the high, that which is called the sun.’

Ys. 44. 18 :

*taṭ θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā
kaθā ašā taṭ mīzdəm hanānī
dasā aspā aršnavaitiš uštrəmčā
hyaṭ mōi mazdā apivaitī haurvātā
amərətātā yaθā hī taēibyō dānāhā.*

‘This I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord : How through Righteousness shall I merit that reward, ten mares with foal and a camel, since, O Mazda, there hath become known to me Health and Immortality, that thou shalt give these twain of thine.’

(The tradition renders *apivaitī* by *xavitūnam*, *vedmī*.)

b. *Younger Avesta.*

Yt. 8. 48 (YAv. prose) :

*yim vīspāiš paitišmarənte yāiš spəntahe mainyōuš dāman
adairi-zəməišča upairi-zəməišča yāča upāpa yāča upasma yāča
fraptərəjan yāča ravasčarən yāča upairi tā akarana anayra
ašəonō stiš āidi.*

‘upon whom all the creatures of the Holy Spirit think, both those below the earth and above the earth, below the waters and in the earth, winged and far-ranging, and all that which beyond these boundless and eternal things is called the world of the righteous.’

Yt. 19. 92–93 (YAv. verse):

yim vārəθraγnəm
yim barəṭ tazmō θraētaonō
yaṭ ažiš dahākō jaini
yim barəṭ fraṇrase tūrō
yaṭ drvā zainigāuš jaini
yim barəṭ kava haosrava
yaṭ tūrō jaini fraṇrase.

‘that Victory which the sturdy Thraētaona bore when Azhi Dahāka was slain, which the Turanian Franrase bore when the wicked Zainigāuš was slain, which King Haosravah bore when the Turanian Franrase was slain.’¹

III. Sentences containing the perfect only.

The perfect seems to retain its original force unchanged in Avestan. It expresses the present result of a past action or event. No assistance in determining the value of the perfect tense is given by the traditional renderings in Pahlavī and Sanskrit. The meagre verb-system of the Pahlavī precludes an accurate translation of the Indo-Iranian perfect, and the Sanskrit

¹ The Old Persian has two examples of the medio-passive in *-i*, *aθahy* and *adāri*, *adār(i)y*. Both these words seem to be used with the force of the imperfect, the tense with which they are significantly coordinated in the inscriptions. N Ra 20–22: *tyāšām hačāma aθah[y ava a]kunava dātām tyā manā a[ita] adāri*, ‘what was said unto them by me, that they did; this my law was maintained’ (cf. also Bh. i, 20, 23–24); Bh. ii, 89–90: *utāšaiy [ēax]šma avajam duvarayā maiy basta adāriy haruvašim kāra ava[ina]*, ‘and I put out his eye; he was kept bound at my door; all the people saw him’ (cf. Bh. ii, 74–76); Bh. i, 25–26: *auramazdāmai y upastām abara yātā ima xšaθam [ad]āry*, ‘Auramazda brought me help until this kingdom was held.’ This coordination of the medio-passive aorist in *-i* with the imperfect in Old Persian is the more striking in view of the careful distinction observed by this dialect between the aorist and the imperfect in all other instances (see Bartholomae, *Altiran. Verb.* 222, 224–226; Spiegel, *Vgl. Gramm.* 493).

version is based upon the Pahlavī, reproducing, in the case of the perfect tense at least, the inaccuracy of the Middle Persian translation.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

Ys. 13. 4 (GAv. prose):

iθā mainyū mamanāitē iθā vaočātarē iθā vāvərəzātārē.

‘thus the two spirits have thought, thus they have spoken, thus they have done.’

(The tradition renders *mamanāitē* by *mīnam*, *manyē*; *vaočātarē* by *yemalelūnam*, *sanuccarāmi*; *vāvərəzātārē* by *varzam*, *samācarāmi*.)

Ys. 28. 9:

*anāiš vā nōit ahurā mazdā ašmčā yānāiš zaranaēmā
manasčā hyač vahistəm yōi vā yōiθmā dasmə stūtəm
yūžəm zəvīštyānhō išō xšaθrəmčā savanhəm.*

‘by these boons may we not anger thee, O Ahura Mazda and Righteousness and the Good Mind, we who have been zealous in the giving of praises; ye are friendly and the Kingdom of wish and of blessings’ (i. e. the blessed, wished-for Kingdom).

Ys. 29. 4:

*mazdā sazārē mairištō yā zī vāvərəzōi pairi-čiθit
dævāiščā mašyāiščā yāčā varəšaitē aipī-čiθit
hvō vīčirō ahurō aθā nē anəhat yathā hvō vasat.*

‘Mazda of words is most mindful which have been done aforetime both by demons and men and which will be done hereafter; he is the deciding lord, so be it unto us as he is to wish.’

(The tradition renders *vāvərəzōi* by *varzēt*, *ācārītāni*.)

Ys. 32. 15:

*anāiš ā vī-nēnāsā yā karapōtāščā kəvūtāščā
avāiš aibi yōng daintī nōit jyātəuš xšayamnōng vasō
tōi ābyā bairyāntē vanhəuš ā dəmānē mananhō.*

‘In accordance with those doctrines, there hath perished both the Karapship and the Kaviship; in accordance with these (doctrines, however) they whom (the wicked) make not masters of (their own) life at will shall be borne by the two [Haurvatāt and Ameretāt] to the home of the Good Mind.’

(The tradition renders *vī-nēnāsā* by *barā aūbīnō yehevūnd.*)

Ys. 33. 10:

vispā stōi hujītayō yā zi ān harē yāsčā hēntī
yāsčā mazdā bavaintī θwahmī hīs zaošē ābaxšōhvā
vohū uxšyā mananḥā xšaθrā ašāčā uštā tanūm.

‘all blessings of life in the world which have been and which are and which are to be, distribute these, O Mazda, in thy love, increase our body in health through the Good Mind, the Kingdom, and Righteousness.’

(The tradition renders *ānḥare*, *hēntī*, and *bavaintī* by *būt hōmand*, *sambhūtāḥ santi*; *am hōmand*, *santi*; and *am yehevūnd* [*min kevan frāz*], *bhaviṣyanti* respectively.)

Ys. 34. 5:

kaṭ vō xšaθrēm kā īštīš šyaοθanāi mazdā yaθā vā hahmī
ašā vohū mananḥā θrāyōidyāi drigūm yūšmākēm
parē vā vīspāiš parē v a o xēm ā daēvāiščā xrafstrāiš mašyāiščā.

‘what is your Kingdom, what your power to do, O Mazda, as I implore, to protect your poor through Righteousness and the Good Mind? we have exalted you in the presence of demons, brutes, and men.’

(The tradition renders *parē vaοxēmā* by *pēš gūft hōmanēt*, *prāk uktāḥ stha.*)

Ys. 39. 2 (GAv. prose):

āšāunəm āt urunō yazamaidē kudō-zātanəmēt narəmčā nāiri-
namčā yažšəm vahehīš daēnā vanaintī vā vēnghən vā v a o n a r ē
vā.

‘and we worship the souls of the righteous whensoever born, both men and women, whose good religions are either conquering, or are to conquer, or have conquered.’

Ys. 44. 13:

taṭ θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā
kaθā druḡēm nīš ahmaṭ ā nīš nāšāmā
tēng ā avā yōi asruštōiš pərənānḥō
nōiṭ ašahyā ādīvyēintī hačēmnā
nōiṭ frasayā vanḥēuš čāxnarē mananḥō.

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord: How shall we drive the Druj from us down upon those who, full of unbelief, care not for Righteousness following it, nor have they taken delight in the questioning of the Good Mind.’

Ys. 49. 1 :

*aṭ mā yavā bāndvō pafrē mazištō
yē dušrəθrīš čixšnušā ašā mazdā
vanuhī ādā gaidī mōi ā mōi arapā
ahyā vohū aošō vīdā mananḥā.*

‘how long now hath the mightiest Bendva held me in combat, me who am desirous, O Mazda, to please the evil hosts through Righteousness ! Come to me with a good gift, give me joy, compass his death through the Good Mind.’

Ys. 50. 1 :

*kaṭ mōi urvā īsē čahyā avanḥō
kē mōi pasōuš kē mē nā θrātā vīstō
anyō ašāt θwatčā mazdā ahurā
azdā zūtā vahištātčā mananḥō.*

‘verily my prayer is (lit.: in my prayer): What power hath my soul had over any help, what man hath been found as protector for my herd, what one for me other than Righteousness and thee, O Mazda Ahura, and the Best Mind ?’

(The tradition renders *īsē* by *xvāstār hōmanam*, *abhilāṣayāmi*.)

Ys. 51. 8 :

*aṭ zī tōi vaṣšyā mazdā vīdušē zī nā mruyāt
hyaṭ akōyā drəgvāitē uštā yē ašēm dādrē
hvō zī maθrā šyātō yē vīdušē mravaiṭi.*

‘then verily shall I say unto thee, O Mazda, for a man should speak unto the wise, what is woe to the wicked is weal to him who hath upheld Righteousness, for he hath peace through the Word who speaketh unto the wise.’

(The tradition renders *dādrē* by *dhārayet*.)

b. Younger Avesta.

The original force of the perfect is retained in general unchanged in the Younger Avesta as well as in the Gāthās. In the latest portions of the Younger Avestan texts, however, the peculiar force of the perfect is in great part lost, for the perfect, like the aorist, becomes at times almost equivalent with the imperfect. The perfect occurs quite frequently in the Younger Avesta.

Ys. I. 1 (YAv. prose and verse) :

nivaēdayemi hankārayemi daθušō ahurahe mazdā...

yō no daḍa yō tataša

yō tuθruyē yō mainyuš spəntōtəmō.

‘I announce, I offer unto the creator Ahura Mazda,... who hath created us, who hath fashioned us, who hath nurtured us, the Spirit most holy.’

(The tradition renders *daḍa* by *dātō hōmanam*, *dadāu* ; *tataša* by *tāšēt hōmanam*, *ghaṭayāmāsa*, and *tuθruyē* by *parvart hōmanam*, *pratyapālayat*.)

Ys. 8. 2 (YAv. prose) :

xʷarata narō aētəm myuzdəm yōi dim hanhāna ašāča frērtiča.

‘eat, O men, this oblation, ye who have merited it both through righteousness and through piety.’

Ys. 9. 1 (YAv. verse) :

kō narə ahi

yim azəm vīspahe anhēuš

astvatō sraēštəm dāḍarəsa

xʷahe gayehe xʷanvatō aməšahe.

‘who art thou, O man, the most beautiful of all the material world that I have seen with thy glorious, immortal life?’

(The tradition renders *dāḍarəsa* by *xazītunēt*, *dadarça*.)

Ys. 10. 12 (YAv. verse) :

ā tē baēšaza irīraθarə

vanhēuš mananhō mayābyō.

‘for thee through the arts of the Good Mind remedies have mingled.’

(The tradition renders *irīraθarə* by *gūmāi*, *arogyayukto* ‘si.’)

Ys. 62. 7-8 (YAv. verse) :

vīspaēibyō sastīm baraiti

ātarš mazdā ahurahe

yaēibyō aēm hām-pačāite

xšāfnīmča sūirīmča ...

vīspanəm para-čarəntəm

ātarš zasta ādīḍaya.

‘unto all the Fire of Mazda Ahura beareth proclamation for whom he is wont to cook [iterative subjunctive] the evening and the morning meal,... the Fire hath looked upon the hands of all that pass by.’

(The coordination of the present and perfect in this passage is noteworthy. The tradition renders *ādiḍaya* by *nikirīt*.)

Ys. 65. 9 (YAv. verse) :

kuθra vāčō aoi-būta
ya hē čaxse aθra-paitiš.

‘what becomes of the words which the teacher hath taught him?’

(The tradition renders *čaxse* by *čāšēt*.)

Ys. 71. 10 (YAv. prose) :

vīspe tē ahurō mazdā hvapō varuhiš dāman ašaonīš yazama-ide yāiš da dāθa pouruča vohuča.

‘all thy good, righteous creations we worship, O beneficent Ahura Mazda, which thou hast created both many and good.’

(The tradition renders *dadāθa* by *yehabūntō*.)

Yt. 10. 79=81 (YAv. verse) :

yō rašnuš daide maēthanəm
yahmāi rašnuš darəyāi haxədrāi
fra bavara manavaintim.

‘who hath given Rashnu (sic!), an abode to whom Rashnu hath conveyed a home for long companionship.’

Yt. 17. 17 (YAv. verse) :

kō ahi yō məm zbayehi
yešhe azəm frāyō zbayentəm
sraēštəm susruye vāčim.

‘who art thou that invokest me, whose voice I have heard as the most beautiful of those that invoke me often.’

Yt. 19. 8 (YAv. prose) :

yavaṭ anu aipi āite garayō višastarə višpəm avat aipi draonō bažat aθaurunaēča raθaēštāiča vāstryāiča fšuyente.

‘as far as those mountains have extended, all that distance one is to present a cake both to the fire-priest and to the warrior and to the thrifty husbandman.’

Yt. 22. 8 (YAv. prose):

*kudaḍaēm vātō vāiti yim yava vātəm nānhābya hubaoiḍi-
tāməm jīyaurva.*

‘whence bloweth the wind, which is the sweetest wind I have ever breathed with my nostrils?’

(The tradition renders *jīyaurva* by *vaxdunt*. See also Yt. 22. 26.)

Vd. 4. 46 (YAv. prose):

*ham-taptibyo aiwyō čāxrare nərəbyō zaraθuštra mā gōuš mā
vastrahe hatō adāitīm vaočōit.*

‘before the heated waters (which) they have made for men, O Zarathuštra, one should not say aught unlawful of that which is kine or clothing.’

(The tradition renders *čāxrare* by *kartar-aš*.)

Vd. 5. 4 (YAv. prose):

*yeziča aēte nasāvō ... narəm āstryeintīm ānhāt išarə-štāitya
mē vīspō anhuš astvā išasəm jīt-ašəm xraodaṭ-urvō pəšō-tanuš
frēna ānhəm nasunəm yā paiti āya zēmā irīriθarə.*

‘if these corpses shall defile man, ... straightway (will or would be) all my material world desiring the destruction of righteousness, with hardened soul and damned, through the multitude of those corpses which have perished on this earth.’

(The tradition renders *irīriθarə* by *vatūrēnt*.)

Vd. 6. 32 (YAv. prose):

*aišhā āpō para-hinčayən yaṭ vā naēməm yaṭ vā θrišum yaṭ
vā čaθrušum yaṭ vā pəntanhum yezi tūtava navāt tūtava.*

‘of that water should they sprinkle either a half, or a third, or a quarter, or a fifth, according as he hath been able or hath not been able.’

(The tradition renders *tūtava* by *tūbānīk*.)

Vd. 8. 97 (YAv. prose and verse):

*kaṭ tā nara yaoḍdayən anhən ašāum ahura mazda yā nasāum
ava-hištā.*

dūire asahi razanham.

‘can those men be purified, O righteous Ahura Mazda, who have touched a corpse in a distant place in the wilderness?’

(The tradition renders *ava-hištā* by *barā yekavimūnēt*. The parallel passage Vd. 8. 33 has the imperfect *ava-hištāt*, although here also L 2, Br. 1, K 10 have the perfect *hištā*.)

Vd. 14. 4 (YAv. prose) :

ham-irista aētayā urvarayā yā vaoče hadhānāpāta.

‘mingled with that plant which is called Hadhānāpāta.’

(Note the variant reading *vāci* K 1 for *vaoče*. The tradition renders *vaoče* by *gūft*. The same use of the perfect *vaoče* is found in Yt. 10. 88; 13. 152; 14. 55.)

Vd. 21. 2 (YAv. prose) :

*yayata dunma yayata frā-āpəm nyāpəm upa-āpəm haz-
aərō-vārayō bāēvarə-vārayasēit.*

‘the cloud hath come, hath come, to the water above, the water below, the water beneath, with a thousand drops, with ten thousand drops.’

(The tradition renders *yayata* by *rapat*, but by *sātūnēt* ZPGL. 16. 9.)

Frag. Tah. 24–26 (YAv. prose) :

tanu-mazō ašayāiti yō tanu-mazō bīraošat (read *draošat*) *tanu-
mazō zī aētyamēit ašayam pfrē yā nōit yava miθō mamne
nōit miθō vavača nōit vavarəza.*

‘he merits a tanu-mazah who deceives (to the amount of) a tanu-mazah, for he who hath never thought deceit, nor spoken deceit, nor done deceit, hath gained as much merit as a tanu-mazah.’

The tradition renders *pfrē* by *ambārēt*, *mamne* by *mīnūt*, *vavača* by *gūft*, and *vavarəza* by *kart*.)

Frag. Tah. 105–106 (YAv. prose) :

*nōit hāu ās vaoze zaraθuštra nōit ahmāt vašata yō nōit ašahe
vahištahe bərəjī framarətahe mayā vaoze.*

‘neither hath this body advanced, O Zarathuštra, nor is he ever to advance, who hath not advanced the arts of Asha Vahishta lovingly studied.’

(The tradition renders *vaoze* by *vāzīnūtār*.)

Nir. 19 (YAv. prose) :

*dahmō dahmāi aoxte frā mā nərə gārayōiš yaṭ ratuš frītōiš
āsāt vīsaiti dām fraγrārayō nōit fraγrāγrāyeiti aēšō ratufriš yō
yaγāra.*

‘the pious saith to the pious : Awake me, O man, that the master of satisfaction may come. (If) the awakening cometh to the

one, (but the other) awakeneth not, he satisfyeth his master who hath awakened.' (See Bartholomae, IF. v. 471-372.)

The perfect is used very rarely with injunctive force in the Younger Avesta.

Yt. 13. 150 (YAv. prose) :

paoiryān tkaēšē yazamaide nmānanāmčā viśqmčā zantunāmčā dahyunāmčā yōi ānharē ... yōi bābvarē ... yōi henti.

'the first faithful we worship who have been both in the houses and in the villages and in the tribes and in the countries, ... who are to be (?), ... who are.'

IV. Sentences containing the Pluperfect only.

The pluperfect is extremely rare in Avestan (Jackson Av. Gramm. § 602, Bartholomae Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 89, 198). Its occurrence in Avestan is scarcely frequent enough to enable us to determine whether it still retained what would seem to have been its original value, the expression of the result in past time of a prior action or event, or whether, like the Sanskrit pluperfect (see above p. 113-114) it simply denoted preterite time.

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

Ys. 32. 6 :

*pourū-aēnā ēn āxštā yāiš srāvahyeitī yezi tāiš aθā
hātā-marānē ahurā vahištā vōistā mananāhā
θwahnī vō mazdā xšaθrōi ašāicā sēnghō vidām.*

'the sinful man had perished through the very things by which he will be heard of, if so be ; through the Best Mind thou knowest, O Lord remembering what things soever are, I am to act in thy Kingdom as your preacher, O Mazda and Asha.'

(The tradition renders *ēnāxštā* by *ākānkhšate*. The verse is obscure and the rendering doubtful.)

Ys. 51. 12 :

*nōit tā im xšnāuš vaēpyō kēvinō paretō zēmō
zaraθuštrēm spitāmēm hyaṭ ahmī urūraost ašto
hyaṭ hōi im čaratascā aodərəščā zōišənū vāzā.*

'nor did the heretic vaēpya delight him, Zarathushtra Spitāma, in the depth of winter, since he had prevented him from being with him when there came upon him the fierceness and strength of the cold.'

(Read *zimō* for *zamō* with Pt 4, J 3, 6, Jm 1, P 6, Ml 1, and the tradition.)

b. Younger Avesta.

Yt. 19. 68-69 (YAv. verse) :

hačaiti dim aspahe aqjō ...
aθra pašcaēta va ozirəm
baodəntō šudəm taršnemča
baodəntō aotəm urvāxərəmča.

‘the strength of a horse attendeth him, ... thereafter had come those knowing hunger and thirst, those knowing cold and heat.’

V. Sentences containing the Imperfect and the Aorist.

Thus far we have considered passages which contain only a single one of the preterite tenses, but the distinctions already set forth with regard to the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect become still more clear when different past tenses stand side by side in the same sentence. The presence of the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect side by side in the same Gāthic strophe is not to be regarded, in my judgment, as a sign of syntactic decay. In the Younger Avesta, on the other hand, the various preterite tenses may be coordinated, as a natural result of the gradual loss of perception of the original difference between the past tenses of the indicative.

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

Ys. 29. 9 :

ačā gēuš urvā raostā yē anaēšəm xšənmənē rādəm
vāčəm nərəš asūrahya yēm ā vasəmī īšā xšaθrīm
kadā yavā hvō aəhat yē hōi dadat zastavat avō.

‘and then the Soul of the Kine wailed : I who did gain for my wretched self the impotent voice of a cowardly man, when I long for one sovereign according to his will ; when shall he be who is to give me mighty help ?’

(The tradition renders *raostā* by *garzītō*, *krandati*.)

Ys. 31. 7.

yastā mantā pouruyō raočēbīš rōiθwen x’āθrā
hvō xraθwā dāmiš ašəm yā dār aya t vahištəm manō
tā mazdā mainyū uxšyō yē ā nūrēmčēt ahurā hāmō.

‘who first did think to fill these glorious spaces with light, he through his wisdom is the creator of Righteousness, whereby

he sustained the Best Mind; through this spirit thou increasedst, O Mazda Ahura, who art the same even until now.'

(The tradition renders *dārayaṭ* by *yaṣṣenunētō*, *dadāu*, and *uxšyō* by *vaṣṣinēt*, *vikāṣayat*.)

Ys. 32. 2 :

aēibyō mazdā ahurō sārəmnō vohū manəhā
xšaθrāt hačā paiti-mraot ašā huš-haxā xʻənvātā
spəntəm vō ārmaitim vanuhim varəmaidi hā nō anhaṭ.

'to them Mazda Ahura, being lord with the Good Mind, replied from the Kingdom with the goodly fellowship of glorious Righteousness: We did choose for you (ethical dative) the good Spenta Ārmaiti, may she be ours!'

(The tradition renders *paiti-mraot* by *gūft*, *abravūt* and *varəmaidi* by *dōšəm*, *mitrayāmi*.)

Ys. 34. 13 :

təm advānəm ahurā yəm mōi mraoš vanəhəuš manəhō
daēnā saošyantəm yā hū-karētā ašācēt urvāxšaṭ
hyaṭ čiv ištā hūdābyō mīzdem mazdā yehyā tū daθrəm.

'that way of which thou, Lord, spakest to me as being that of the Good Mind, that of the religion of the Soshyants, whereby deeds well-done in accordance with Righteousness are to grow, since one did teach to the benevolent the reward of which thou, Mazda, art the deposit.'

(The tradition renders *mraoš* by *yemalelūnāi*, and *čiv ištā* by *čāšūtō*, *āsvādayah*.)

Ys. 43. 11 :

spəntəm at θwā mazdā mēnghī ahurā
hyaṭ mā vohū pairi-ja saṭ manəhā
hyaṭ xsmā uxδāiš dīdaišhē paourvīm
sādrā mōi səs mašyaēšū zarazdāitiš
taṭ vərəzeyedyāi hyaṭ mōi mraotā vahištəm.

'then I did think thee to be holy, O Mazda Ahura, when the Good Mind came unto me, when first I learned through your words—Hard, did he announce unto me, is holding fast the faith among men—to do that which ye said unto me is the best thing.'

(The tradition renders *mēnghī* by *mīnūt homanīh*, *amansthāh*; *pairi-ja saṭ* by *barā matō*, *samāgacchat*; *dīdaišhē* by *nikēzūtō*; *səs* and *mraotā* by *gūft*, *avocat*.)

Ys. 46. 7 :

*kēm nā mazdā mavaitē pāyūm dadāt
 hyaṭ mā drəgvā dīdarəšatā aēnaxhē
 anyēm θwaxmāt āθrasčā manaxhasčā
 yayaš šyaοθanāiš ašəm θraošta ahurā
 tam mōi dastvəm daēnayāi frāvaočā.*

‘when the wicked sought to hold me to sin, whom appointed man as a protector of one like me, other than thy Fire and Mind, through whose deeds Righteousness did prosper, O Lord? Pronounce to me that wise knowledge of the Religion.’

(Note the variant *dīdarštā* F 2, H 1 for *dīdarəšatā*. The tradition renders *dadāt* by *yehabūnt*, *dattāh*; *dīdarəšatā* by *dadhāti*, and *θraoštā* by *fravarēm*, *pālayāmi*.)

Ys. 47. 3 :

*ahyā manyēuš tvēm ahī tā spentō
 yē ahmāi gəm rānyō-skərətīm hēm-tašat
 at hōi vāstrāi rāmā-dā ārmaitīm
 hyaṭ hēm vohū mazdā hēmə-fraštā manaxhā.*

‘of that spirit thou art the holy one hereby, who pleasure-bestowing fashioned for us the joy-giving Cow, and Ārmaiti for her pasture, when it [the Spirit] did hold questioning, O Mazda, with the Good Mind.’

(The tradition renders *hēm-tašat* by *hamtāšit*, *samāsrjat*, and *hēmə-fraštā* by *saṃçlištah*.)

Ys. 49. 4 :

*yōi duš-xraθwā aēšəməm varədən rāməmcā
 xʷāiš hizubīš fšuyasū afšuyantō
 yaēšəm nōit hvarštāiš vqas dužvarštā
 tōi daēvəng dən yā drəgvatō daēnā.*

‘those who augmented wrath and violence through their folly, with their own tongues, being thriftless among the thrifty, whose evil deeds did have no pleasure because of good deeds, they (are) in the house of the demons(?) through the religion of the wicked.’

(The tradition renders *varədən* by *vārīt yekavīmūnētō*, *var-šantah santi*, and *vqas* by *vāñcitāh*. The last two lines are obscure and the rendering doubtful.)

b. *Younger Avesta.*

Ys. 9. 13 (YAv. verse) :

*hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāvi
taṭ ahmāi jasaṭ āyaptəm
yaṭ hē tūm us-zayaṇha
tūm ərəzvō zaraθuštra.*

‘this blessing did one find for him, this boon came to him that thou wert born unto him, thou, the just Zarathushtra.’

(The tradition renders *ərənāvi* by *karṭō*, *cakre*; *jasaṭ* by *maṭ*, *samprāpa*, and *us-zayaṇha* by *zerxūnt* *hōmanāi*, *uccāirjātaḥ*.)

Vsp. 12. 4 (YAv. prose) :

*humaya mainyāmaide ya daθaṭ ahurō mazdā ašava
θraošta vohu mananḥa vaxšt aša.*

‘we meditate upon the good kinds of knowledge which the righteous Ahura Mazda created, and the Good Mind did nurture, and Righteousness did increase.’

(The tradition renders *daθaṭ* by *yehabūnt*; *θraošta* by *parvart*, and *vaxšt* by *vaxšīnūt*.)

Yt. 4. 1 (YAv. prose) :

*azəm daδəm haurvatātō narəm ašaonəm avāšča rafnāšča
baošnāšča xʷitāšča avōi frača yaoxmāide.*

‘I created for righteous men both the helps and the pleasures and the enjoyments and the peculiar blessings of Haurvatāt, and we did confer (them) upon him.’

Vd. 2. 11 (YAv. prose and verse) :

*āaṭ yimō iməm zəm višāvayaṭ aēva θrišva ahmaṭ masye-
hīm yaθa para ahmāṭ as: tem iθra fračarenta pasvasča
staorāča mašyāča*

*hvəm anu uštīm zaošəmča
yaθa kaθača hē zaošō.*

‘then Yima extended this earth a third larger than it was before; there over it did go forth both cattle and small beasts and men according to each one’s will and pleasure, even as one’s pleasure was.’

(The tradition renders *višāvayaṭ* by *sātūnīnūt* and *fračarenta* by *sātūnt*.)

VI. Sentences containing the Imperfect and the Perfect.

Sentences which contain both the imperfect and the perfect are by no means common in the Avesta. In the few passages of this category which do occur the original distinction between the two tenses seems to be observed.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta.*

Ys. 30. 4 :

*aṭṭā hyaṭ tā hēm mainyū jasaētəm paourvīm dazdē
gaēmēā aṣyāitīmēā yaθācā anhaṭ apēməm anhuš
ačištō drəvatəm aṭ ašāunē vahištəm manō.*

‘and then when the two spirits first came together, they have created both life and death and how the world shall be at the last, most evil for the wicked, but the Best Mind for the righteous.’

(The tradition renders *hēm jasaētəm* by *ham maṭō hōmand, ājagmasuḥ.*)

Ys. 32. 11 :

*taēcīṭ mā mōrəndən jyōtūm yōi drəvatō mazibiš cikōitərəš
anuhišcā anhuvascā apayeiti raēxənənō vāēdəm
yōi vahištāt ašāunō mazdā rārəšyan manənō.*

‘these destroyed my life who have taught the wicked especially to rob house-holders, both women and men, of the attainment of their inheritance, that they may make the righteous apostate from the Best Mind.’

(The tradition renders *mōrəndən* by *marenčinišnō yehabūd. vinācam dadate*, and *cikōitərəš* by *kāšinēnd, ācāranti.*)

b. *Younger Avesta.*

Ys. 9. 5 (YAv. verse) :

*yimahe xšaθre aurvahe
nōiṭ aotəm ānha nōiṭ garəməm
nōiṭ zaurva ānha nōiṭ mərəθyuš
nōiṭ araskō daēvō-dātō
panča-dasa fračarōiθe
pita puθrasca raodaēšva katarasčiṭ.*

‘in the reign of princely Yima there hath been neither cold nor heat, there hath been neither age nor death, nor disease created by the demons; father and son went forth fifteen years old each in figure.’

(The tradition renders *āsha* by *yehavūnt*, *āsīt*, and *fračarōiθe* by *frāz sātūnūt hōmand*, *pracaratah*. See also the parallel passage Yt. 15. 16.)

Yt. 13. 90 (YAv. prose):

*yō paoiryō stōiš astvaiθyā vācim aoxta vidōyum ahurō-
tkaēšem yō paoiryō stōiš astvaiθyā vācim framraot vidōyum
ahurō-tkaēšem yō paoiryō stōiš astvaiθyā vīspam daēvō-dātem
vavača ayesnyam avahmyam.*

‘who first of the material world spake the word against the demons, belonging to the faith of Ahura, who first of the material world proclaimed the word against the demons, belonging to the faith of Ahura, who first of the material world hath declared all (the world) created by the demons to be unworthy of worship or of prayer.’

(The perfect *vavača* is coordinated in this late passage to the imperfects *aoxta* and *framraot*.)

VII. Sentences containing the Aorist and the Perfect.

Sentences which contain both the aorist and the perfect are extremely rare. A few examples, however, may be cited.

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

Ys. 34. 3 :

*aṣ tōi myazdēm ahurā nēmanhā ašāičā dāmā
gaēθā vīspā ā xšaθrōi yā vohū θraoštā mananhā
ārōi zī huddānhō vīspāiš mazdā xsmāvasū savō.*

‘now unto thee, O Ahura and Asha, we are to offer with homage the oblation, (namely) all beings in the Kingdom which ye did nurture through the Good Mind, for the weal of the beneficent hath been fitting in all respects for those like unto thee, O Mazda.’

Ys. 44. 20 :

*čiθnā mazdā huxšaθrā daēvā ānharē
at it pərəsā yōi pišyeintī aēibyō kam
yāiš gam karapā usiṣčā aēšemāi dātā
yāčā kavā anmōnē urūdōyatā
nōit hīm mizēn ašā vāstrēm frādaišhē.*

‘have the demons been good rulers, O Mazda? Now this I ask : What (vengeance shall be) to those who oppress, through whom the Karap and the Usij did give the Cow unto Wrath,

and through whom the Kavi is a sinner forever, and not a man to prosper the pasture through Righteousness in watering it.'

(The strophe is obscure and the translation doubtful. The tradition renders *ānharē* by *yehevūnt hōmand*, *abhavan* and *dātā* by *yehabūnt*.)

VIII. Sentences containing the Aorist and the Pluperfect.

Sentences which contain both the aorist and the pluperfect are excessively rare. A single example, which is not free from ambiguity, may be quoted.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta*.

Ys. 53. 1 :

vahištā ištiš srāvī zaraθuštrahē
spitāmahyā yezī hōi dāt āyaptā
ašāt hačā ahurō mazdā yavōi višpāi ā hvanhəvīm
yāčēā hōi dabən sašənčā daēnayēt vanhuyēt uxδā syaoθanāčā.

'the best wish is to be called Zarathushtra Spitāma's if Ahura Mazda in accordance with Righteousness is to give the boons, even a happy life for all eternity, to him and to those who did desire (?) and had become learned in the words and deeds of the good religion.'

IX. Sentences containing the Imperfect, the Aorist, and the Perfect.

The *Gāthās* furnish one example of an Avestan passage which contains the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect side by side.

a. *Gāthā-Avesta*.

Ys. 29. 1 :

xšmaibyā gəuš urvā gərəždā kahmāi mā θwarōždūm kē
mā tašať
ā mā aēšmō hazasčā rəmō ā hišāyā dərəščā teriščā
nōiť mōi vāstā xšmať anyō aθā mōi sṣtā vohū vāstryā.

'to you the Soul of the Kine did wail: For whom did ye create me, who shaped me? Wrath and Violence, Mutilation, and Outrage, and Power have bound me; no husband-man is there for me but you; so announce to me good pasturage.'

(The tradition renders *gərəždā* by *garzēt*, *krandati*; *θwarōždūm* by *barehīnūt hōmanam*, *avinirmūto* 'smi, and *tašať* by *tāšēt hōmanam*, *ghaṭīto* 'smi.)

The conclusion which I draw from the study of the syntax of the preterite tenses of the Avesta has already been shadowed forth. In the *Gāθās* the tenses retain their original significations unchanged, while the Younger Avesta shows a steady degeneration of feeling for the primary distinctions between the preterite tenses. The imperfect in the *Gāθās* is the tense of narration, as it is in the Younger Avesta. The aorist is not uncommon in the *Gāθās*, where it denotes an action or event occurring at some undetermined past time. It is found very seldom in the Younger Avesta, where it has become to all intents equivalent to the imperfect. The perfect in the *Gāθās* expresses the present result of a past action or event. It still retains this force in general in the Younger Avesta, although cases are not lacking, especially in late portions of the text, where the perfect, like the aorist, has degenerated into a mere narrative tense. The two points in which I differ most from results hitherto obtained are in regard to the pluperfect and to the medio-passive in-*i*. In my opinion the pluperfect expresses the result in the past of an action or event whose time was still more remote. In other words the pluperfect is a true preterite perfect, not a preterite present. I have suggested that the medio-passive in-*i* lost its aoristic force as early as the Iranian period and became equivalent to a simple preterite tense.¹

¹ For the transcription employed in this article, see the editorial note at the end of the volume.

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